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An examination of personality and attitudinal characteristics of students who participated in the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at the University of California (Berkeley) in Fall 1964. Research data reveal the FSM activists to be well-qualified students with good to excellent academic records, diverse intellectual interests, strong motivations toward knowledge, and deep commitments to university, social and political problems. When compared to non-participating students, FSM participants were found to be an atypical minority that behaved with considerable independence and autonomy to the point of public protest activities even at the risk of arrest. Individual differences and attitudes are discussed with emphasis placed on characteristics as they relate to future activities and continuing commitments. This student group seems to possess a variety of qualities and attributes generally indicative of potential greatness. (WM)

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The Dynamics of Student Discontent and Protest

ED025214

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Most observers and historians would probably agree that the United States has indeed been a "melting pot" for the races of mankind, but they would also acknowledge that the pot continues to boil, stirred by much trial and tribulation, with a great deal of "melting" still currently underway. When one considers the time it has taken to assimilate, and only partially, certain racial and ethnic elements in this American brew, the fire of freedom may yet have to be tended for many decades, if not indefinitely, to accomplish our democratic ideals.

The challenge of understanding, accepting and living with human differences is proably a task without end. Should all so-called racial and ethnic differences, as well as those of religious beliefs and practices, ever lessen greatly in importance, disturbing variations in general human behavior would still be with us, unless we some day resort to the controls of modern genetics, mass conditioning, or biochemical manipulation.

In essence, our Fifty States, at least as a nation, have been well grounded in diversity. The principle of human differences was recognized and defended in the first and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. But principle and practice have often been far apart, and a great many problems have grown out of the type and extent of differences which the law would protect.

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The breadth and the complexity of the United States educational system was founded in the recognition of human differences and the educability of all mankind. Our public school programs, and to a lesser extent our private schools, developed over time to the point of providing limited opportunity for all people, people of greatly diverse abilities and very unlike beliefs and attitudes. However, education for all, especially with the implication that each should be taught or trained to the level of his potential, has remained more myth than reality. Subscription to the philosophy, principle and objectives is one thing, the execution of all that is implied is quite another.

The problems of effectively educating the great variety of youth in this country have in no extent lessened. Although the presumably different existing colleges, along with all those being built in impressive numbers today, accommodate some of the diversity of ability, needs and interests, it is very doubtful that the mass of post-adolescents will ever approach the attainment levels of their potential. It is also doubtful that the programs of either high school or college prepare a majority for a fuller life of cognitive or esthetic experiences, for active political participation, or to understand, accept and live with each other. Recently numerous critics have argues that much of college and university education is far removed from the problems and issues in the real world.

Certainly one has to recognize and respect the difficulties of educating the <u>individual</u> in our institutions of rapidly increasing size. One can also understand, from the standpoint of the faculty, how the pressures of teaching and maintaining oneself in the academic hierarchy tend to take most teachers away from real-world issues and contemporary problems. But merely being sympathetic to these issues and

problems of higher education bears little relationship to improvement in learning situations. Both of these concerns, the lack of individual involvement in the learning process and the hiatus between higher education and political and social problems, were precedents to the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and ongoing considerations in its evolvement in the fall of 1964.

This protest movement of students at Berkeley represented a culmination of some years history, on the University of California campus as well as on the campuses of a number of other universities and colleges. There is no direct or sequential relationship between the changing attitudes of students and their increasing political activities from 1958 to 1963, as witnessed on half a dozen or more campuses, and the dramatic events starting at Berkeley in September of 1964. But an undercurrent of concern had at least been communicated across or among a number of campuses. The several foci of concern, shared by relatively small numbers of students on the various campuses, were shared by a much smaller proportion of faculty, as the students were soon to learn. These several concerns, most frequently being the joint concerns of the same minority of people, were a) ineffective educational programs and procedures, b) problems of segregation and civil rights, and c) the unstable international situation. Recent student protests and minor "movements" or developments relevant to these problem areas had occurred on several campuses since 1960. For the most part they developed on smaller college campuses. All received an earlier and more attentive ear from administrative authorities than was true at Berkeley, and therefore they didn't reach such explosive proportions.

Knowledge of some of these earlier post-1960 activities on several campuses, and of the students who gave leadership or participated, was

a chief factor in the initiation of interest in the FSM among some members of our staff.[1] For the most part, these different campus "movements" were initiated, promoted, or led by exceptional or excellent students; these people all had good to excellent academic records, were strongly motivated toward a quest for knowledge and were committed to understanding or dealing with political or social problems.

But, on each campus the student activities provided a test and challenge for the administration and others. In the early stages it was generally seen as deviate activity that would not last, hopefully, and that didn't merit too much attention from the authorities. In most cases the developments were plagued with the different perspectives of student and adult groups, with one not being able, at least initially, to comprehend the interests or rationale of the other.

The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley represented this phenomena of diverse perspectives, needs and interests ad infinitum. From the very beginning a great many "others" could not comprehend, or did not attempt to comprehend, the students' concerns, interests in getting straight forward answers, needs for political advocacy, interests in the segregation problem, interests in how the University was managed, etc. Nor could most understand why the students dressed the way they did, why many wore their hair in certain fashions, or why they played the deviate role. Not to perceive, not to comprehend and not to understand was the average person's way out.

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[1] Heist, Paul. "Intellect and Commitment: The Faces of Discontent." Order and Freedom on the Campus, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education and the Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1965.

Prominent Characteristics of the FSM Participants

This paper, in part, represents a sequel to an earlier paper about the FSM participants, in which major attention was given to the students' commitment to learning and scholarship, to the previous schools of the transfer students, and to the academic achievement of the students.[2] The commitment to learning was assessed by a composite measure called Intellectual Disposition, which is composed of six attitude scales.[3] These six scales have high loadings on three of the chief factors in the Center's research inventory, and this factor structure is helpful in describing the dimension. The Intellectual Disposition is found to be made up of autonomy and independence of judgment, flexibility of perception, interests in ideas and reflective thought, and strong analytical and esthetic orientations. These characteristics represent major components of intellectual behavior and are prominent in the personalities of a sample of students identified as young scholars, another sample of identified creatives and a group of highly productive social scientists.

The dimension of Intellectual Disposition is composed of eight categories, with persons being assigned to one of these on the basis of patterns of scores on the six scales. Students falling in the first category are characterized as having broad, diverse intellectual interests with strong literary and esthetic perspectives while those at the other extreme, in the eighth category, are described as largely anti-intellectual, being chiefly oriented toward the pragmatic and the

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2 Ibid, Heist, Paul.

3 Brief sclae descriptions of the six scales assessing Intellectual Disposition (Omnibus Personality Inventory): (see next page)

Thinking Introversion (TI): Persons scoring high on this measure are characterized by a liking for reflective thought and academic activities. They express interests in a broad range of ideas and in a variety of areas, such as literature, art and philosophy. Their thinking is less dominated by objective conditions and generally accepted ideas than that of thinking extroverts (low scorers). Most extroverts show a preference for overt action and tend to evaluate ideas on the basis of their practical, immediate application.

Theoretical Orientation (TO): This scale measures an interest in, or orientation to, a more restricted range of ideas than is true of TI. High scorers are interested in science and in some scientific activities, including a preference for using the scientific method in thinking. They are generally logical, analytical, and critical in their approach to problems.

Estheticism (Es): High scorers endorse statements indicating diverse interests in, as well as an appreciation of, artistic matters and activities. The focus of their interests tends to extend beyond painting, sculpture and music and includes interests in literature and dramatics.

Complexity (Co): The measure reflects an experimental orientation rather than a fixed way of viewing and organizing phenomena. High scorers are tolerant of ambiguities and uncertainties; they are generally fond of novel situations and ideas. Most high scorers very much prefer to deal with diversity and complexity, as opposed to simplicity and structure, and are disposed to seek out and enjoy unusual ambiguous events and experiences.

Autonomy (Au): The characteristic measured is composed of non-authoritarian attitudes and a need for independence. High scorers are sufficiently independent of authority, as traditionally imposed through social institutions, that they oppose infringements on the rights of individuals. They are tolerant of viewpoints other than their own, and they are nonjudgmental, realistic, and intellectually liberal.

Religious Orientation (RO): High scorers are skeptical of conventional religious beliefs and practices and tend to reject most of them, especially those that are orthodox or fundamentalistic in nature. Persons scoring near or above the mean are manifesting a liberal view of religious beliefs, and low scorers tend to be conservative in general and rejecting of other viewpoints. (The direction of scoring on this scale, with strong religious commitment indicated by low scores, was determined in part by the correlation between these items and the first four scales which together measure a general intellectual disposition.)

concrete. For easy comparisons the categories can be grouped by combining 1, 2 and 3, 4 and 5, and 6, 7 and 8. These combined categories provide one quick way of demonstrating how the FSM participants compare to other students on this dimension.

The data presented in Table 1, comparing a sample of FSM participants with entering students (fall of 1959) and a sample of seniors (1965) at Berkeley, indicate that a large majority of the FSM students who were arrested were persons of strong intellectual orientations. The proportion of over two-thirds in the "high" intellectual categories typifies the proportions also across the four undergraduate classes and the graduate students in the total sample of FSM participants. In other words, whether freshmen, seniors or graduates, at all levels, the students who lived up to their commitments to the FSM issues, through the point of being arrested, were a rather extraordinary sampling of Berkeley students. Noting the distribution of the students across the three intellectual levels (Table 1) in the freshman class, and realizing that over 55 per cent of an entering class at Berkeley withdraws over a four year period, it seems obvious that a large supply of students with an essential orientation to become active in protest movements would not be furnished through the entering student group.

A second way of presenting the differences in measured characteristics between the FSM people and other University of California students is found in Figure 1. The student groups are identical to the ones in Table 1. This graph of personality profiles demonstrates again how very much those who took part in the FSM (denoted by a's) differ from entering freshmen (the lowest profile, denoted by c's) and contemporary seniors (s). Significant differences (F test) among the four groups are found on the first six scales and Impulse Expression. The sum and

substance of what these findings mean for academic interests and behavior can be understood fairly well from the scale names and descriptions.

In the earlier paper it was shown that at least half of the arrested participants were transfer students and that the great majority of the out-of-state transfers came from a small number of good or excellent colleges and universities. This large number of non-native students from selective institutions served as a major source of leaders who became prominent in elected committees.

Similar data were later examined for the total number of arrested students, and 64 per cent were found to be transfers, among which group 52 per cent were transfers from schools outside the State.[4] Fifty-nine per cent of these out-of-state transfers (as compared to 62 per cent of the FSM survey sample) came from colleges and universities which are ranked or recognized as excellent or superior. These exceptional schools represent less than 2 per cent of all accredited institutions in American higher education.

All the liberal arts colleges and almost all of the universities classified as excellent or superior select their students on either or both an aptitude and achievement basis. As an example, the out-of-state schools on this list from which four or more (and as many as 11) students transferred are Antioch, Barnard, Brandeis, Columbia, Cornell University, Harvard, Oberlin, Reed, Weslayan (Conn.), and the Universities of Chicago and Michigan. Another small proportion (6 per cent) of

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[4] These data on the total arrested sample were furnished through the courtesy of Mr. Arleigh Williams, Dean of Students, and Mr. Peter Van Houten, Assistant Dean. These data did not include any identification but merely represented a list of institutions from which one or more students had transfered to Berkeley.

FSM people came from several high rated institutions in the State of California (not including other University of California campuses). An additional four per cent were from a small variety of universities in foreign countries. A final significantly large proportion (24 per cent) came from four other University of California campuses or well-known and highly respected out-of-state public universities (this compares with 32 per cent from the same or similar sources among the sample of FSM respondents in the 33 per cent survey sample).

In comparing the sample of FSM participants with the small sample of contemporary seniors, several other minor results are of some value in assisting with the understanding of the protesting student. The very high OPI mean scores on a combination of the Autonomy, Religious Orientation, Complexity and Impulse Expression scales show the FSM person to be very free from his institutional and cultural past, thus behaving with considerable independence and autonomy, to the point of "fighting" any external restrictions and regulations. This fact is supported by the significantly larger numbers (including freshmen and sophomores) of FSM persons, as compared to the seniors, who lived in rooms or apartments or in co-op houses and by the complete lack, as compared to 14 per cent of the seniors, of persons who lived in fraternities and sororities.

Somewhat paradoxically to the above finding, the feelings about the University were as intense for the FSM people as they were for the seniors. For example, 54 per cent of the FSM group and 48 per cent of the seniors indicated that they had a very strong attachment to the institution, with equal proportions indicating they liked the University but without strong feelings.

Many critics characterized the FSM leaders and students as mentally sick and disturbed, along with many other negative accusations. It is easy to see or understand why an "average" citizen or legislator might draw this conclusion, since the variety of behavior and the attire of some students was beyond the observer's range of normal or accepted behavior. The logic for many that stood in judgment seemed to be: They are different and behaving outside the realm of the expected or predictable for students, therefore they are bad, neurotic or insane.

Possible analyses by the interviewers and the OPI data provided nonprofessional psychological assessments of FSM people. Almost all interviewees, with one or two exceptions, were friendly, cooperative, analytical and rational in their replies to questions. The fact that a few were interesting eccentrics, that a number led a comparatively simple life and others (20-25 per cent) dressed in a "bohemian" or nonconformist fashion did not distract from their sound mental activity, their creative work or their academic endeavors. Among 70 interviewees seen in the summer of 1966, only four or five exhibited enough anxiety and bizarre thinking to be judged somewhat disturbed or in need of psychiatric help. Another small percentage fell into the "angry young man" category, but they spoke with rational anger about persisting issues, problems, and questionable governmental policies and practices.

The related results, regarding social-emotional disturbance in the total, original survey sample, are presented in Table 2. With the possible exception of the first one, the "adjustment" categories in the table, very briefly described, are not psychiatric classifications. Then represent extremes in the context of normal student behavior.

On most campuses a small percentage of students distribute themselves across at least four or five of these categories. The individuals are classified by designated patterns of scores on the following scales: Social Extroversion, Impulse Expression, Personal Integration and Anxiety Level.

The date in Table 2 do not permit any defensible comparisons and analyses, unless it is between FSM seniors and the other two senior samples. From previous work it is known that the proportions in most categories at the senior level are smaller than at the freshman and sophomore level, since students in some of these categories tend to withdraw from college. One obvious conclusion is that there are no consistent differences between the FSM groups and the senior samples on the "introversion" categories. A second conclusion would be that only a minority of FSM persons are found in the first four categories -- 16 per cent of the graduate students and 25 per cent of the undergraduates. These percentages are in line with the proportions found in the student bodies in several liberal arts colleges (from other studies at the Berkeley Center).

Whether or not the 25 per cent is a little high for the number of "disturbed" or overly aggressive undergraduates at Berkeley, it is within expectations that the bright and committed youth who participated in FSM over several months exhibited some of the described characteristics quite legitimately. They spoke out and acted out their anger and indignation; they acknowledged their disturbances and anxiety about several contemporary situations; they described and wrote a good deal about their feelings of rebellion and hostility; they freely criticized the forces and powers in the world with which they disagreed. Many

appeared to be anything but happy with the government and the University; in this sense, a minority of 25 per cent may be an understatement of the facts.

Characteristics of Potential Commitment

The students in the Free Speech Movement, those that declared themselves early and remained active throughout, were a definite minority on the Berkeley campus. Much of the leadership and a majority of the participants, as already mentioned, were transfer students. Without this combination of transfer and native students, the potency of a movement, necessary to carry out a mission over several months, would have been much less likely to develop. There has been more than an implication in my comments that this was a non-random and very special sample of the student body at Berkeley.

It is of interest that the freshmen who were active in the FSM were a group whose personality characteristics, in contrast to the attitudes and motivation of the great mass of entering first-year students, readily explained why they became involved. The measurements available demonstrated that the participating freshmen were a special sub-group whose level of intellectual disposition placed them among the top 10 per cent of their class. This finding led to an interest about the entering students on other University of California campuses who would be "supportive of, favorable or sympathetic to" the FSM students. In other words, were there entering students, and in what numbers, who might become active in similar protest activities? Also of interest were the differences between the attitudes and characteristics of students who would or would not support the idea of the FSM or such a development. Of even more interest would be the .

presumed potential of any number of students of this commitment and their recognition by faculty and suitable educational procedures to challenge their needs and interests.

Through the information made available by the study of entering students on each campus in the fall of 1965, a year after the FSM occurrences, an initial analysis of the questions raised became possible.[5] Through the use of a questionnaire item asking about various degrees of support or opposition to FSM in the students' thoughts and feelings, data were obtained for five responses on this point. The results shown in Table 3, with the middle response or category excluded, reveal the number subscribing to the different degrees of FSM support for the students on all 3 campuses combined. The horizontal lines to the right of the means are placed alongside the mean scores which are not significantly different at the .01 level.[6]

The first obvious finding is the small number (less than 6 per cent) of men and women who check the statement "favorable and supportive." The second finding is the consistency of the differences between the two supportive groups and the two opposing groups, for both male and female samples. These statistics are also presented in the form of profile graphs in Figures 2 and 3, which present a "quicker" picture of the type and degree of differences.

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[5] All incoming freshmen have been assessed on the Davis, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles campuses in a program including the OPI. In the spring semester 30 per cent representative samples, stratified for ability and "intellectual disposition" levels, were surveyed by questionnaire. The identification of students supportive or sympathetic to the FSM was made within the context of these three questionnaire samples.

[6] Marascuilo, Leonard. "Large Sample Multiple Comparisons", Psychological Bulletin, May, 1966, Vol. 65, No. 5.

As intimated above, the academic and scholastic "readiness" of the top groups (favorable and supportive) as well as their freedom and motivation to be involved, when compared to the opposing groups, represent a complex of important characteristics that set these students off to an extent that should not be ignored. In the long run the point of greatest importance where the FSM students are concerned is not the success of the Movement, nor the fact of the arrests of hundreds of youths; rather the importance of these particular students, at Berkeley and on the other campuses, is the calibre generally represented in the commitments they made and the risks they were willing to take for their commitments. The potential for greatness found in a majority of these activistic students was almost completely overlooked in the eyes of the general public and, unfortunately, in the sight of many educational leaders and faculty.

Stability of Commitment

The behavioral and social scientists have become increasingly interested in the concepts of change or stability of human thought and action. An amazing amount of research on attitudinal changes and the general development of students is now underway in colleges and universities throughout the nation. Members of our research team at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education have encouraged that further studies of changes in students be made in a more discriminative fashion. It is not a new idea that the growth and development of individuals is contingent upon their genetic and social background and will vary considerably with their existing characteristics and with what they experience. However, the analysis of change has most often

been done in gross fashion, such as resorting only to comparisons of mean scores between groups, rather than analyzing the data for specific types or subgroups of students.

Methods of gross and inadequate analysis of change are related to much of the inadequacy of educational procedures, especially at the college level, and the general lack of attention to individual differences. In fact, much of the evaluation and many of the criticisms of the present day discontented student has been faulty in not respecting the specific students participating and their particular intellect, attitudes and motivation. Neither have most critics nor the general headline-reading public been cognizant or interested in the circumstantial bases which give selected minorities of students sufficient case for their agitation.

Much as we were interested in the particular students at Berkeley and the "type" of students on other campuses who were or would be willing to protest and demonstrate publicly, we have also been curious about the stability of commitments and the persistence of the roles taken for some months on at least this one campus. Though the FSM youth were responding to a situation of a particular time and place, we have wondered whether this form of activism, pursued for the first time by many, lead to continuing or future activity in the areas of politics or social issues. (Lyons reported that only 26 per cent of the early demonstrators -- October 1 and 2 -- belonged to political or social action groups previous to participation. But among the first-time demonstrators, 69 per cent indicated that they would be "politically active in other areas in the future." -- Lyons, 1965.) One might also ask whether the liberal or activist orientations were genuine and sufficiently basic to arouse response and participation on

other issues? Were the students' intellectual interests and concerns of such a strength and nature to lead to continuing involvement? Or would they become discouraged, much as they accused the older intelligentsia of having become removed and uncommitted? If their values and commitments were sound and well established, to the point of taking vocal or public stands in the future, where would most of these exceptional youth focus their attention and efforts?

It is undoubtedly too soon to examine most such questions or any hypotheses defensibly, but selected data from interviews with two different samples of FSM participants provide some early answers. A small sample (30) of students who were originally in the random sample of arrested youth but who did not cooperate in the February, 1965, survey were sought out for interviews in the following summer. Twenty-three of those in the sample were available in the Bay Area and 20 of them were interviewed.[7] A second sample of former FSM participants was drawn from two sources in the summer of 1966. Approximately half were selected from the list of arrested persons in the original 33 per cent random sample who had been asked to participate in the February survey in 1965. The other half of the interviewees was selected

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[7] A random sample of 36 students who had not responded to the invitation to participate in the more extensive survey in February, 1965, was selected for interviewing largely because we knew considerably about the respondents and we were interested in a second check on whether or not the non-respondents were a biased sample. A proportion of the 36 were not in the Bay Area, some having gone home for the summer. A few were in the South serving in civil rights programs, several were traveling in the East and two were studying in Europe. The remaining 23 were sought for an hour of interviewing and an hour of testing. However, only 20 students were interviewed in the time available.

from FSM participants (two or more months involvement) who had not been in the December 2nd sit-in and had not been arrested. Approximately 100 persons in all were interviewed over a four to five week period, in order of their availability in the Bay Area, and a number were seen as they returned to Berkeley late in the summer.[8]

Selected data of relevance to the questions raised about stability of commitments and persistence of activist roles are presented in Tables 4 and 5. But, a few facts drawn from the interviewees' reported academic activity might serve as an introduction to these recent "extra-curricular" endeavors of these students. Questions have been voiced and skepticism expressed about the seriousness of academic interests and pursuits of the FSM leaders and participants. In fact, even among University administrators and faculty not infrequent comments indicated that the quality and continuity (persistence) of these students' academic work was seriously questioned. However, their success in the way of obtaining good grades previous to and during the FSM heyday has been confirmed in previous reports.[9] Among these discontented youth were many of the best scholars on campus. This is in line with their intense and intrinsic intellectual interests previously described. But the question at hand, for the moment: Were these same activists still in academic channels and pursuits one year and a half later?

In the first small sample of 20 persons, 19 had continued at the University during the spring term or were in summer school. From the two groups, the arrested and non-arrested youth, in the second but

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[8] The results reported here are taken from the interview records of only the first 70 people interviewed.

[9] Ibid, Heist, Paul
Fact Finding Committee of Graduate Political Scientists, "Preliminary Report of the Berkeley Free Speech Controversy," 1964 (mimeo)

larger interview sample, 80 per cent of the former and 91 per cent of the latter had been enrolled through the spring term of 1966 or were in summer school at the time of the interview. Of the small percentage not enrolled, about half had completed an anticipated degree earlier, some of whom had taken employment. These figures readily show that these students, in these samples at least, did not follow the national or local withdrawal patterns or rates. Fifty-nine per cent of this second summer's sample were returning to school at advanced levels in the fall. Among those not continuing were those (36 per cent) who had completed a degree and had or were taking a position; another 30 per cent were not returning either because of other plans or a current lack of interest in school; 20 per cent were going to Europe and two students (less than 10 per cent) had been drafted. In brief conclusion, recognizing that the persons in these two samples in no way typify the FSM participants who left Berkeley, it seems that large proportions carried on with their education much as one would have predicted from their previous records and their measured characteristics. And this finding appeared unrelated to their chief political or activist affiliation, whether that be the Young Democrats, civil rights groups, Slate or the VDC.

The interviewees in both samples were asked whether they were or had been involved in any political activity during the past spring. The results in the way of categorized responses, found in Table 4, demonstrate a certain amount of similarity in the types of activities between the two groups. The one obvious difference is due to the temporal situation of a political campiagn. (The large proportion in this category in 1966 is directly related to the large number of students who were active in the Robert Scheer campaign, candidate for

the U.S. Congress.) With only 15 per cent or less admitting to no activity, the great majority were represented in one or more causes, all of which would seem to have some political overtones. But, the commitments would vary on ideological bases, with some involvements probably demanding more than others. The recorded responses in the interview records also indicate that the intensity of commitment and participation, though generally high and enthusiastic, varied significantly from person to person.

The results (Table 4) would indicate, in the light of a minimal amount of comparative information on other students, that these former FSM people are considerably more active in the overall political sphere, and more so now than previous to their FSM experience. For example, only five out of the 20 in the first sample belonged to or gave time to a political or action organization in the late summer of 1964. Lyons reported that only 26 per cent of the demonstrators on October 1, 1964, belonged to a campus political or social action group.[10] Presumably, the FSM persons have become more active as they "predicted" they would when surveyed in the early days of the Berkeley protest movement.

The results in Table 4 gain a little added perspective if seen through the data presented in Table 5. The interviewees in the 1966 sample were asked to indicate the approximate percentage of time they spent in each of five activity areas: political, self-education, creative expression, recreation and sports.[11] Through this ranking approach

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[10] Ibid, Lyons, Glenn

[11] The five areas were explained more fully in a sheet handed to the interviewees: Political (and social protests or volunteer work); Self-education (reading extra books in own field, exploring new fields, learning a language, etc.); Creative expression (writing poetry or plays, painting, jewelry making, potting, dramatics); Recreation (attending concerts, ballets, movies, etc.); Sports (swimming, hiking, etc.).

the students' concern about political and related matters is given a different context. The intellectual, esthetic and creative interests keynoted in the OPI profiles of the FSM participants receive some substantiation in the Table 5 data. For both the arrested and non-arrested persons, activities permitting creative expression and self-education rank above political work and forms of recreation and sports. Together with the OPI findings and other information obtained through the interviews (numberous people spoke of their creative interests and pursuits), the "breadth" and complexity of the personalities of large numbers of FSM people is given objective credence. As proposed in an earlier paper, the "political man" in the FSM personality is chiefly premised on intellect, intellectual needs and interests, and in commitments to knowledge and "truth" which lead to examination of ideologies and human values.

With the information at hand, this review of the students' "stability of commitment" is presented as an exploratory examination, but it is safe to deduce some of the story initially read from the students' prominent characteristics and attitudes (OPI socres) and supplemented by their persistent behavior of approximately two years ago. The story is about an unusual and extraordinary self-assigned assemblage of mankind. This "breed" of student, with his measurable differences from the general run of enrollees, provides a challenge in perception and understanding to all teachers. A surprising number of faculty failed in this, in comprehending the students' real concerns and motivation, and they continue to do so. For the general public it was obviously too difficult an "assignment" in individual differences. To the average citizen this was a new troublesome minority group. Citizens

and alumni could only accuse: These are not our children; they do not care for our great University.

Summary

The underlying, though not predominant, theme of this paper represents a cursory examination of the concept of individual differences and its relevance to understanding some of the misperception of the students who carried out the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley. The major theme is in the form of a continuing presentation of some prominent characteristics which differentiate a) the former FSM participants from groups of non-participating students, and b) young students who subscribe to the "mission" and importance of the FSM from those students who would oppose the movement and the students. A special emphasis in this paper centers on these identifying characteristics as they are related to the continuing activities and commitments of these students.

One major finding reported, based on the differentiating characteristics between students of different commitments, is the great similarity between the FSM participants and a minority sample of young students who declare themselves as "favorable and supportive." This finding is seen as lending substantiation to a previous conclusion about the major characteristics which typify the attitudes and motivation of the FSM prototype. He was and is a person who will commit himself to examining ethical or controversial issues, or unpopular political stands, to the point of public protest activity and at the risk of arrest and ignominy.

Among the former FSM participants there were few who merited the accusations of rabble-rouser, nihilist, dirty beatnik or Communist. Such characterizations were a gross misperception and misrepresentation

of the available facts. The Movement was composed of a large predominance of well-qualified students who came to the University with good academic records and who had maintained their records. The atypicalness or deviancy of the majority was found in their high mental ability, their autonomy and freedom to choose, their readiness for new ideas and new experiences, their ethical concerns but on a non-religious basis, their interests in a good education, and their strong and intrinsic intellectual orientations. In this sense they were not only atypical but a minority, a minority, quite different from the general mass of students, which represented the qualities and attributes which most teachers seek in their best students.

In the FSM participants we have represented the potential of future educated intellectuals who would provide the nucleus for our most capable political leadership, if not too thoroughly discouraged from taking that role.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Students in Several UCB Samples at Several Levels on an "Intellectual Disposition" Dimension (Percentages)

Intellectual Disposition	Entering Freshmen (2500+)	Senior Sample[1] (107)	Seniors-Who Approved FSM[2] (42)	FSM Sample (All classes)
High (Cat's. 1,2, and 3)	13	30	55	70
Average (Cat's. 4 and 5)	40	55	41	30
Low (Cat's. 6,7 and 8)	47	15	4	0

[1]A random sample (150) of the graduating seniors of 1965 were asked to participate in a survey in February at the same time that the FSM participants were surveyed. Seventy-one per cent (107) completed and returned the material without the benefit of any follow-up techniques.

[2]The seniors were asked about their general reactions to FSM over the fall months, previous to December 2. Forty-two out of 107 checked "Very much in favor, without reservations" (5) or "Generally in favor, but with one or two reservations" (37).

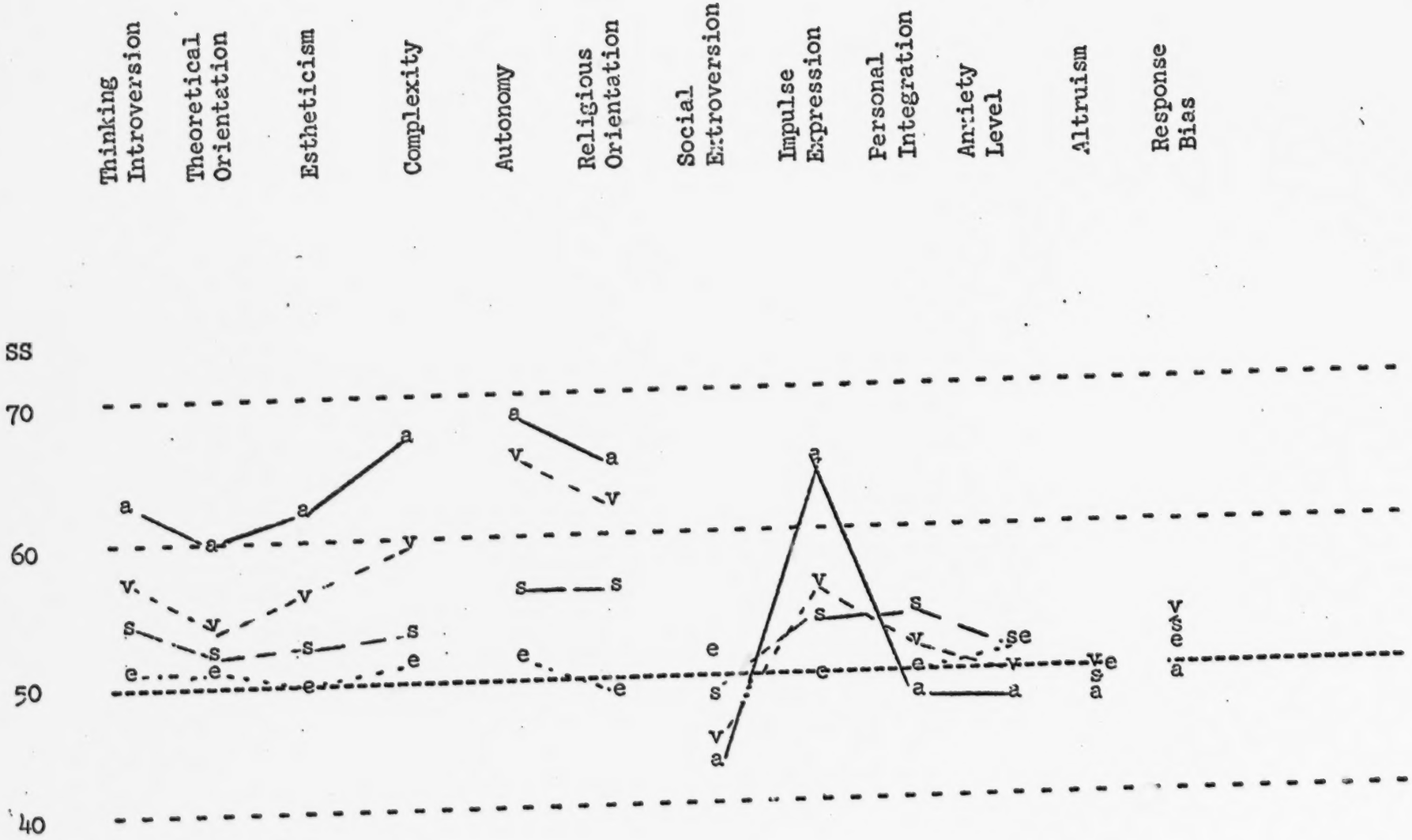

Figure 1. Mean score profiles on OPI scales for different groups of students (male and female) who are or were enrolled at the University of California in Berkeley. Legend: e.....e = entering freshmen of 1959 (N=2500+); s- - -s = sample of graduating seniors in 1965 (N=107); v-----v = those students 1965 senior sample who approved (very much to general) of the FSM (N=42) a_____a = sample of students who participated in the FSM and were arrested (N=147). The latter group of participants (a) included students at all undergraduate levels and graduate students at different stages of their advanced training; the graduate students represent 21% of the total number in this sample.

TABLE 2

Percentages of FSM Participants and Two Samples of UCB Seniors Who Fall into Different Social-Emotional Adjustment Categories

Adjustment Categories	FSM Students (N=188)					Total U-grads (148)	1965 Seniors (107)	1963 Seniors (340)
	Fr.	Soph.	Jr.	Sr.	Grad.			
General emotional disturbance, - high anxiety, alienated, suspicious	12	4	3	6	2	5	2	2
Mild emotional disturbance, - mild anxiety, anti-social in feelings	16	12	7	6	14	9	9	6
Rebellious, aggressive, hostile, bitter, impulsive	2	7	6	6	0	6	3	2
Aggressive, impulsive, overly critical	0	4	9	6	0	5	1	2
Introverted and strong withdrawal tendencies	0	4	3	0	2	2	4	3
Mild introversion, - avoiding ordinary social activities and organizations	8	12	15	15	11	11	11	9

TABLE 3

Raw Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory for Groups of the University of California Students Grouped According to Their Thoughts and Feelings about the Free Speech Movement*

Student Groups - According to Response		Thinking Introversion	Theoretical Orientation	Esthetic Orientation	Complexity	Autonomy	Religious Orientation	Social Extroversion	Impulse Expression	Personal Integration	Anxiety Level	Altruism	Response Bias
MALES													
Favorable & supportive (N=42)	$\bar{X}$	31.8	24.5	15.4	21.1	34.1	18.3	20.6	38.1	30.7	13.4	19.3	13.5
	SD	8.3	5.8	5.0	4.9	8.6	5.2	6.4	10.3	12.2	4.4	6.5	4.5
Sympathetic & somewhat favorable(N=150)	$\bar{X}$	28.5	23.5	13.7	18.5	30.4	16.9	21.4	34.4	30.5	12.5	20.6	13.3
	SD	8.9	5.1	4.7	5.5	7.7	5.4	6.2	8.4	10.4	4.9	6.7	4.1
Somewhat opposed (N=202)	$\bar{X}$	22.5	20.7	9.5	14.2	26.7	13.9	22.9	32.3	35.1	14.2	19.0	13.7
	SD	7.8	4.7	5.1	4.6	7.5	5.6	7.2	9.7	9.7	5.3	5.4	4.1
Very much opposed & critical (N=132)	$\bar{X}$	22.2	19.5	9.2	13.6	23.6	13.6	21.5	30.2	34.3	13.8	18.3	13.7
	SD	8.5	5.8	4.6	5.4	7.7	6.3	6.4	9.2	11.3	5.1	5.8	4.3
FEMALES													
Favorable & supportive (N=37)	$\bar{X}$	32.4	21.4	17.5	21.1	35.0	19.4	20.1	33.8	29.4	11.9	23.8	12.4
	SD	7.8	5.4	4.8	4.7	8.3	7.6	8.1	9.8	11.1	4.3	6.2	3.6
Sympathetic & somewhat favorable(N=151)	$\bar{X}$	28.5	19.7	15.8	17.4	30.3	16.2	22.8	30.5	31.8	13.0	22.7	12.8
	SD	5.7	4.3	4.3	4.1	7.3	5.8	7.5	9.1	9.5	4.3	5.7	4.2
Somewhat opposed (N=304)	$\bar{X}$	24.1	16.8	12.3	13.3	25.8	12.3	23.9	24.3	33.9	13.4	23.1	12.9
	SD	5.6	4.6	5.0	4.3	7.7	6.1	7.4	8.9	9.0	5.1	5.2	3.8
Very much opposed & critical (N=144)	$\bar{X}$	22.3	16.6	11.0	12.3	23.7	11.8	24.2	22.7	35.7	13.3	22.6	13.6
	SD	6.3	6.3	4.2	4.8	6.9	6.2	7.0	8.7	8.9	4.6	5.4	3.6

* All means with a line along the right side are not significantly different (.01 level), based on Marascuilo's X^2 analog of Scheffe's Theorem. Psychological Bulletin, May, 1966, Vol. 65, No. 5.

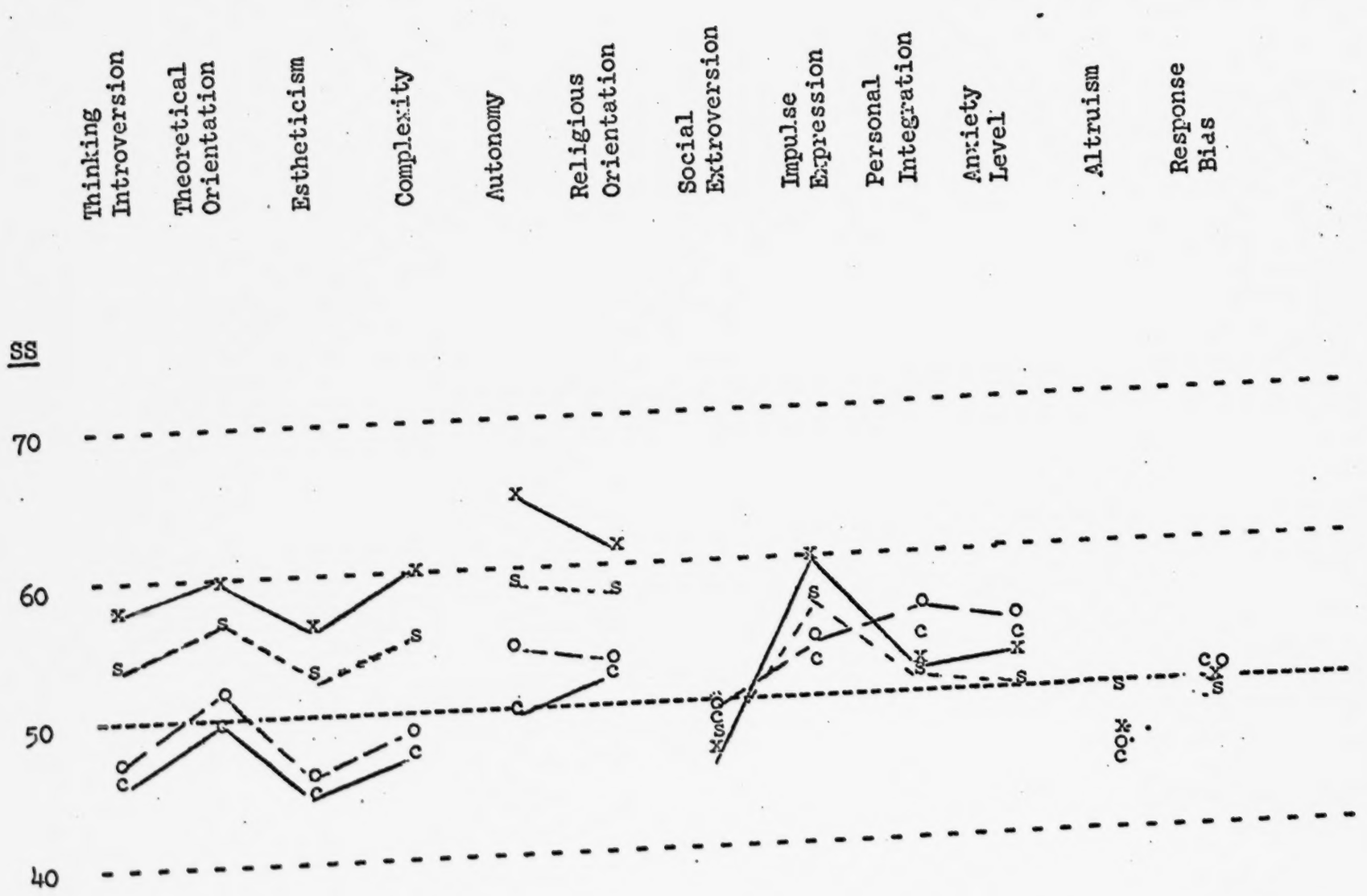

Figure 2. Mean score profiles on OPI scales for groups of first-year male students on three campuses of the University of California. The students are grouped according to their "thoughts and feelings about the Free Speech Movement and the participating students." Legend: x = favorable and supportive (N=42); s = sympathetic and somewhat favorable (N=150); o = somewhat opposed (N=202); c= very much opposed and critical (N=132).

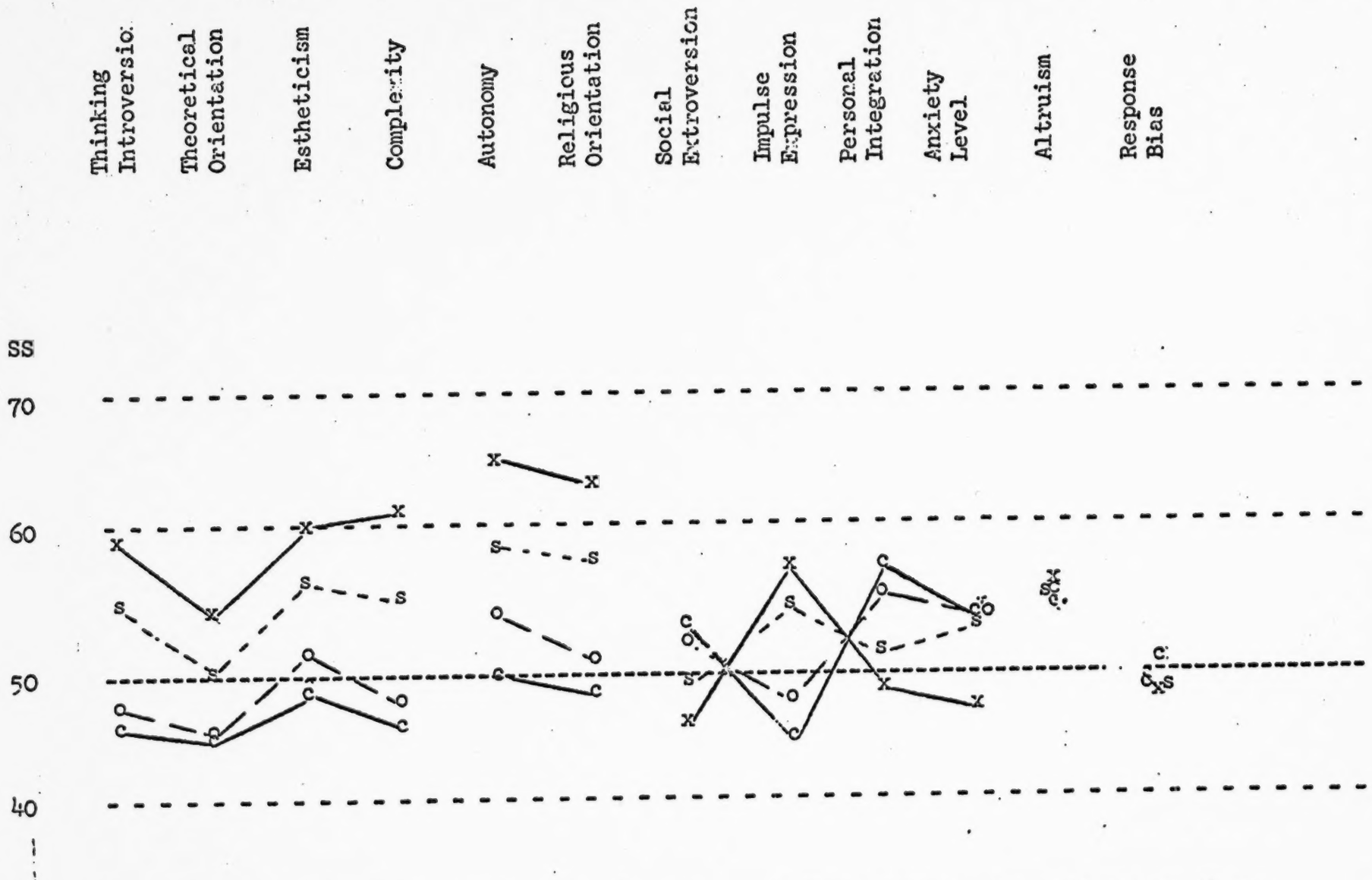

Figure 3. Mean score profiles on OPI scales for groups of first-year female students on three campuses of the University of California. The students are grouped according to their "thoughts and feelings about the Free Speech Movement and the participating students." Legend: x = favorable and supportive (N=37); s = sympathetic and somewhat favorable (N=151); o = somewhat opposed (N=304); c = very much opposed and critical (N=144).

TABLE 4

Percentages of Interviewed FSM Students Who are Active in One or More of a Variety of Current Political or Social Issue Activities

Activity	Interviewees: 1965 Sample (N=20)	Interviewees: 1966 Sample (N=70) +
Civil rights work, - picketing, demonstrating, or helping in offices (though not belonging)	40	65
Political activity, - campaigning for candidate, soliciting funds and support	--	49
Anti-Vietnam War activity, - picketing, marching, working on rallies *	40	49
Conservation campaigns, such as "Save the Redwoods"	--	15
SLATE activity (liberal student activist group)	10	9
Volunteer work (tutoring, Head Start program, etc.)	10	10
No activity and do not belong to any political or activist group	15	6

* Only a small minority (5 to 10 per cent) of those involved in anti-Vietnam War activity were "members" of the Vietnam Day Committee.

+ These percentages were approximately the same for students in both the arrested and non-arrested samples, except for those in "conservation" activity, none of whom had been arrested.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Students Ranking Certain Recent Activities Over Others According to the Relative Time Spent in Each

Activity ranked as highest	Interview Sample	
	Arrested (33)	Nonarrested (36)
Creative activities	37	34
Self education	29	23
Political	15	21
Recreation (passive)	13	9
Sports (active)	5	13